

## Notes from the Field: Remontado (Hatang-Kayi): A Moribund Language of the Philippines

Jason William Lobel  
*University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa*

Orlando Vertudez Surbano  
*Punong Barangay, Limutan, General Nakar, Philippines*

Nearly half a century has passed since Philippine educator Teodoro Llamzon discovered the Remontado language, which would be introduced to the world in a master’s thesis written by his student Pilar Santos. Although data from the wordlists they collected have been included in subsequent publications by several other authors, no one had revisited the language community, let alone collected any additional data on this highly-endangered language, prior to the current authors. This article presents updated information on the language community, the current state of the language, and a revised description of the various grammatical subsystems of the language, including its verbal morphology. Also included are over 400 audio recordings illustrating basic aspects of the phonology as well as the various functor sets and verb forms, and a short text for comparison with other similar language sketches.

**1. Introduction**<sup>1</sup> One of the Philippines’ most critically endangered languages is Remontado (from a Spanish term meaning ‘one who has gone back up into the mountains’), also known by the endonym Hatang-Kayi, which means “this language”.<sup>2</sup> While its speakers claim that their language was once spoken throughout a considerable portion of the provinces of Rizal and Quezon northeast of Manila, it has since lost all of its lowland territory, as well as most of the mountainous area to which its speakers later retreated. Today, the language survives in just five small, extremely rural communities straddling the border between Tanay town in Rizal province, and General Nakar town in Quezon province (cf. Table 1 and Figure 1),<sup>3</sup> difficult to reach

<sup>1</sup>The first author wishes to express his sincerest gratitude to Orlando Surbano, who for over a decade has been both my friend and my primary Remontado consultant, and to the Remontados of the towns of Tanay and General Nakar for their hospitality and assistance. Special thanks are also due to Rodrigo Dar, Chris Sundita, Fe Aldave-Yap, Robert Blust, David Zorc, Bill Hall, Alisa Hetio, Manny Tamayao, and two anonymous referees whose comments helped in the revision of this paper. Any remaining errors or misrepresentations herein are my fault alone.

<sup>2</sup>Table 2 contains audio recordings of the names of the ethnolinguistic groups and languages mentioned in this section, while Table 23 in Appendix A contains recordings of the place names mentioned throughout this paper.

<sup>3</sup>Note that Figure 1 also includes Barangays Wawa and Puray, where the language is no longer spoken.

from either direction, and separated from one another by a two- to four-hour hike. Even in these five communities, however, only around half of the residents speak their ancestral language, and with the vast majority having intermarried with Tagalogs, Dumagets, Ilokanos, or Aklanons,<sup>4</sup> virtually none still speak it with their children. As a result, virtually all of the approximately 325 remaining speakers of the Remontado language are over 50 years of age.

**Table 1.** Approximate populations of Remontado-speaking communities

	Total Population	Remontado Speakers
Minanga (Sentro), Brgy. Limutan, General Nakar town, Quezon Province	100	50
Sitio Sari, Brgy. Limutan, General Nakar town, Quezon Province	200	100
Sitio Paimuhuan, Brgy. Limutan, General Nakar town, Quezon Province	100	50
Sitio Nayon, Brgy. Santa Inez, Tanay town, Rizal Province	150	50
Sitio Kinabuan, Brgy. Santa Inez, Tanay town, Rizal Province	100	75
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>325</b>



**Figure 1.** The location of Remontado communities in the Philippines

<sup>4</sup>While unexpected for this geographical area, a large number of individuals from Aklan province in north-western Panay migrated to this area half a century ago, and at present, there are multiple communities comprised primarily of Aklanons in areas that were traditionally home to the Remontados.

Other than the five aforementioned Remontado-speaking communities, there are a number of other less remote communities whose residents self-identify as ethnic Remontados (or even sometimes as “Remontado Dumagats”), yet do not speak the Hatang-Kayi language. Instead, rather confusingly, the members of these communities often speak the language of the more numerous Dumagets (commonly referred to as “Umiray Dumaget” in the linguistics literature, after the Umiray River along which they were first encountered by Western linguists), yet refer to this language as “Remontado” or “Dumagat”.<sup>5</sup> Included in this group are the Remontado communities in Barangays Wawa and Puray in the town of Montalban (also known as Rodriguez) in Rizal province, and Sitio Mararaut in Barangay Limutan, General Nakar town in Quezon province (cf. Figure 1).

**Table 2.** Names of ethnolinguistic groups and languages

Remontado	IPA	Gloss
Rimuntádu	/rimun'tadu/	‘Remontado’ (name of ethnolinguistic group)
Rimuntádu	/rimuŋ'tadu/	‘Remontado’ (alternate pronunciation)
Hatáng-Kayí	/ha'taŋ ka'ji/	‘Hatang-Kayi’ (endonym for the language spoken by the Remontados)
Dumágat	/du'magat/	‘Dumagat’ (local Tagalog term for coastal negritos in northern Quezon province and southern Aurora province, who speak the Umiray Dumaget language)
Kabalát	/kaba'lat/	‘Kabalat’ (Remontado term for the Dumagets)

The current state of the Hatang-Kayi language in the five remaining communities in which it is still spoken is drastically different from what Pilar Santos (1975) describes for Brgy. Daraitan in Tanay town at the time that the language was discovered in 1972 by her late adviser Teodoro “Ted” Llamzon (Santos 1975:iv, 3, and Rodrigo Dar, pers. comm., 2/18/18). There, she observed that “at present, only the very old members of the community [said to be 80 years old and above] speak the language; other old people seldom...if at all use it, while the younger ones admittedly...are embarrassed about it, preferring instead to communicate in ‘Modern Tagalog,’ i.e. the Tagalog of Tanay” (1975:4). This half-century-old observation is unsurprising in light of the fact that there are no longer any surviving Hatang-Kayi speakers in Brgy. Daraitan (other than the second author, who moved to Daraitan from General Nakar town less than a decade ago). As such, the speakers that Santos encountered in Daraitan were likely the last surviving speakers in that community.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup>The Tagalog word *dumágat* is cognate with the Umiray Dumaget word *dumáget*, the latter reflecting the Low Vowel Fronting shift which raises and fronts the vowel /a/ after voiced stops and glides, cf. Lobel (2010:489) and Robinson and Lobel (2013:137). As such, while speakers of Umiray Dumaget refer to themselves as *Dumaget*, Tagalogs refer to them, and their language, as *Dumagat*, while the Remontados refer to them as *Kabalat* when speaking Hatang-Kayi (cf. Table 2).

<sup>6</sup>In fact, Mariano De La Cruz, the consultant for the 1977 Remontado wordlist, passed away in 1986.

In spite of its moribund status, no work has been done on the language since the 1970s, other than that of the current authors. Himes (2012:491) notes that “[o]ur knowledge...is limited to the information provided by Santos (1975)”, and Reid (2010:235) even comments that the language as spoken in Daraitan “may...be extinct, as apparently also is Remontado Agta [sic] with which it is equated in the Ethnologue”.<sup>7</sup> While Reid is clearly mistaken about the language being extinct, Himes is correct in noting that the little that has appeared about it in the literature can be traced to three wordlists that were elicited in the 1970s: the first, by Llamzon, in Sitio Paimuhuan in General Nakar town; the second, by Santos, in Sitio Pinutian, Tanay, where the language is no longer spoken; and the third elicited in 1977 by SIL-Philippines member Perry Macabuhay. Of these three, the first two were the source of the data included by Llamzon’s colleague Fe Aldave Yap in her 1977 compilation of Philippine language wordlists, while more recent studies by Reid (1994) and Himes (2012), in turn, referred to the data in Yap (1977), plus the 1977 SIL wordlist.<sup>8</sup>

Santos (1975) and Himes (2012) argue that the Hatang-Kayi language belongs to the Central Luzon subgroup, making it most closely related to Kapampangan and the various Sambali and Ayta languages. Other authors (e.g., Blust 1991, Lobel 2013) who have mentioned the language appear to have accepted this analysis, which is based primarily on the existence of a number of Remontado forms reflecting Proto-Austronesian \*R as /y/ (e.g., *ba-yú* ‘new’ < \*baqəRu and *uyát* ‘vein’ < \*uRat in Table 4).<sup>9</sup> However, Remontado also has a zero reflex of Proto-Austronesian \*R in some environments (e.g., *abî* ‘night’ < PAN \*Rabiqi,<sup>10</sup> *áta* ‘person’ < PAN \*qaRta, in Table 4), and no exclusively-shared innovations with the Central Luzon languages are evident in its functor subsystems. As such, it remains a possibility that the \*R > /y/ forms may be part of a borrowed stratum, so further work is needed on the position

<sup>7</sup>While listed under the name “Remontado Dumagat” since the 17th edition of the Ethnologue (e.g., Simons and Fennig 2017), the language had been listed as “Remontado Agta” in earlier versions (e.g., Grimes 1988:578).

<sup>8</sup>Even errors in the spelling of place names have been repeated, such as in the place name Paimuhuan, Limutan, which appears in Reid (1994:60) and Himes (2012:491) as “Paimahuan, Limoutan”, an error which originally appeared on the 1977 SIL wordlist. This is separate from the frustratingly large number of typographic errors in the Remontado data, English glosses, and place names in Santos (1975), which, as was commonplace in the Philippines at that time, was typeset by paid typists, not by Santos herself, a fact that she openly acknowledges in thanking “my typists Arnold Zarate who did the draft and Cynthia Agatep for the final copy of this thesis” (1975:v). Furthermore, there are also significant problems with Santos’s analysis of both the vowel inventory and the verbal morphology, as well as inconsistencies in the transcription of geminate consonants, all of which can be traced at least partially to Llamzon’s original wordlist. To her credit, however, Santos (1975:6) herself does point out that “the verb morphology in Llamzon’s data [re: data] did not yield to a systematic analysis, i.e. there appeared to be inconsistencies which were probably related to incomplete understanding of Tagalog by the informants”, and that “case marking affixes did not appear to be systematic”. Due to these various problems, the data from Llamzon and Santos will not be considered in the present sketch.

<sup>9</sup>The orthographical forms in this paper follow the general Philippine orthography used in Tagalog, Bikol, Cebuano, Ilonggo, etc., while stress and the otherwise-unwritten word-final glottal stop are indicated by diacritics similar to those used in major Philippine language dictionaries such as English (1986), Pangani-ban (1972), and Wolff (1972). An acute diacritic indicates stress without a glottal stop; a grave diacritic indicates the presence of an otherwise-unwritten word-final glottal stop on an unstressed ultima, and a circumflex indicates a combination of word-final stress and a word-final glottal stop. Glottal stops in consonant clusters are indicated by a hyphen.

<sup>10</sup>PAN and PMP reconstructions in this paper are from Blust and Trussel (ongoing).



of this language. It is clear, however, that whether or not the Hatang-Kayi language ultimately belongs to the Central Luzon subgroup, it has been isolated from its closest relatives for centuries,<sup>11</sup> during which time it has also borrowed a considerable amount of lexicon from Tagalog.<sup>12</sup>

There is also considerable confusion within the Philippines about the linguistic and genealogical origins of the Remontados. The official policy of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (or NCIP, the government agency currently tasked with serving the needs of the nation's ethnolinguistic minorities) is that the Remontados are the product of intermarriage between the Umiray Dumaget and Tagalogs, and that their language is a mixture of the two. However, this belief is clearly mistaken, as even a cursory look at the linguistic data reveals that the Remontado language subgroups with neither Umiray Dumaget nor Tagalog (Santos 1975, Blust 1991, Himes 2012, Lobel 2013), and quite clearly could not have evolved from a mixture of those two languages.<sup>13</sup>

**1.1 “Remontado” and other terminology** The term *remontado* dates back to the late 1500s, when “[t]he Spaniards coined the term...to refer to...someone who had initially accepted Christianity and had undergone baptism but eventually...fled to the mountains to escape the Church, Spanish law and colonial impositions such as tribute” (Mateo 2004:83–84). While the term once referred to any individual or group throughout the Philippines who fit this description, it fell into disuse in most places after the transfer of colonial power from Spain to the United States, save for its usage in referring to the Hatang-Kayi-speaking population of Tanay, Rizal (and neighboring areas). Multiple mentions of the Remontados of Tanay can be found in the writings of no less than Francis Burton Harrison, the Governor-General of the American government in the Philippine Islands from 1913–1921, who in one instance notes that from Tanay, “[t]o the east of us – perhaps 50 miles to the Pacific was ‘unexplored’ country, the home of negritos and *remontados*.” (Harrison 1936a). The term has been used to identify this group by successive Philippine government agencies tasked with serving the nation's ethnolinguistic minorities, including the aforementioned NCIP, as well as

<sup>11</sup>The Remontados are currently separated from the nearest Central Luzon language, Kapampangan, by a distance of nearly 100 kilometers across which only Tagalog is spoken natively, including a substantial part of Bulacan province. Furthermore, the Remontados themselves make no claim that their ancestors ever resided in Bulacan (other than a small corner of Brgy. San Mateo on the border of Rizal and Quezon provinces), let alone anywhere near speakers of Kapampangan or any of the Sambali-Ayta languages native to the provinces of Pampanga, Zambales, Tarlac, and Bataan. Likewise, neither Kapampangan nor any Sambali-Ayta language is known to have been spoken in Bulacan at any point during the historical era, i.e., since the arrival of the Spanish in the Philippine islands in 1521. However, as all of the nearest relatives of Tagalog are located to its south, and the most phonologically-, grammatically-, and lexically-conservative Tagalog dialects are located to the south of Manila, it is likely that the area north of Manila was the last to be settled by Tagalogs, and it is therefore possible that Remontado and/or other closely-related languages were once spoken in what are now the provinces of Bulacan and Nueva Ecija.

<sup>12</sup>Determined by the presence of phonological innovations which are characteristic of Tagalog but not of Remontado, especially the shifts of PMP \*R > /g/ and \*ɔ to /i/.

<sup>13</sup>It should be pointed out, however, that the NCIP position may have been influenced by the aforementioned groups who call themselves “Remontado Dumagat” yet speak only Tagalog and Umiray Dumaget, and that the NCIP, none of whose employees are linguists, is most likely unaware of the existence of the Hatang-Kayi language.

its predecessors the Office on Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC, 1987–1997) and the Presidential Assistance for National Minorities (PANAMIN, 1972–1984). Prior to that, the term was also used by the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes which operated from 1917 (Kalaw 1919) until 1936 (Harrison 1936b) during the American occupation, which mentioned “former lowlanders called *remontados* who preferred the isolation of the jungle to the colonial order.” (Larkin 1993:39).

While the Hatang-Kayi-speaking Remontados consider themselves distinct from the Dumagat/Dumaget, the term “dumagat” has on occasion been mistakenly applied to them, when it only correctly refers to the originally coastal population that speaks the Umiray Dumaget language.<sup>14</sup> Recognition of a distinction between the groups named “Remontado” and “Dumagat” dates back at least a century, as linguist Rodrigo Dar (pers. comm., 2/18/18) observed the same distinction being made by Remontados during his visit to the area in 1972, and even Governor-General Harrison in his Executive Order 122 in 1915 (cf. Appendix D) used the two terms in a way that appears to be mutually exclusive:<sup>15</sup>

I hereby reserve for the exclusive use of the Remontados and Dumagats...the following parcel of public domain in the Province of Rizal...Beginning at the point on the boundary line between the Provinces of Rizal and Tayabas where it is crossed by the Lanatin River; thence following the course of said river southwesterly at a distance of five kilometers on either side of the river to Mount Amaya at approximately the point where the Amaya River empties into the Lanatin.

Unfortunately, even though “Remontado” is both the preferred endonym among speakers of the Hatang-Kayi language, and clearly the predominant term in English-language literature, including among local and national government agencies over the past century, a third term, “Sinauna” (or “Sinauna Tagalog”) has been propagated in the linguistics literature. This apparently originated with Teodoro Llamzon, who, after discovering the language in 1972, insisted that his students and colleagues in the now-defunct Department of Languages and Linguistics at Ateneo de Manila University use the term “Sinauna” in referring to the language, despite this term never actually being uttered by community members as the name of their language (Rodrigo Dar, pers. comm. 2/18/18). In fact, the term *sinaúna* is simply a common Tagalog adjective meaning ‘old-fashioned’ (English 1986:1239), ‘ancient’ (Reid 1987), or ‘of old’ (Santos 1975:4). Interestingly, Dar reports that during field trips to the Remontados,

<sup>14</sup>I myself made the unfortunate mistake of referring to the Remontados as “Dumagat” in my Ph.D. dissertation (2013:73), an error which will be corrected in a future revision. Note that Tagalogs also use the term *dumagat* to refer to the coastal Agta north of the Dumagets, including those around Casiguran town in Aurora province.

<sup>15</sup>This is not to say that there was no interracial mixing between the non-negritos that fled into the mountains of eastern Rizal, and the Black Filipinos living in that area, as, for example, the 1903 Census of the Philippine Islands mentions “a few nomadic Malayan families, usually living in association with Negritos and frequently mixed with Negrito blood, who were known to the Spaniards as *Remontados*...a curious band of mixed races extending from the extremes of pure Malay to almost pure Negrito.” (United States Bureau of the Census 1905:459).

it was only Llamzon who used this term in referring to the Hatang-Kayi language, instructing the native speakers to tell him about the language that was *sinaúna*, i.e., the way that they used to speak in the old days. “Sinauna Tagalog”, on the other hand, would mean ‘old-fashioned Tagalog’ or ‘ancient Tagalog’, while the Hatang-Kayi language quite clearly neither subgroups with Tagalog, nor is particularly closely related to it.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, nobody has been found in the 21st-century Remontado community who recalls “Sinauna” ever being used as the name of their language, and the Remontados do not wish for their language to be referred to by that name.

Finally, the Remontados have also on occasion been misbranded “Remontado Agta” in the linguistic literature (e.g., Reid 2010, Grimes 1988:578). The Remontados, however, reject the term “Agta” as referring to their ethnolinguistic group, and the reflex of PMP \*qaRta in the Hatang-Kayi language is *áta* ‘person’,<sup>17</sup> not \*\*agta. Furthermore, neither the majority Tagalogs, nor members of any other neighboring ethnolinguistic group, refer to the Remontados as *Agta*. As such, it is clearly inappropriate to use the term “Agta” in referring to the Remontados or their language.

**1.2 The current data** The data in this sketch are from the first author’s fieldwork on the Hatang-Kayi language from 2007 to 2018, with the current data set consisting of over a thousand lexical items, hundreds of sentences, and several dozen short oral narratives. The voice on the audio recordings accompanying this sketch is that of the second author, Orlando Surbano (b. 1967), a Remontado tribal council member from the community of Minanga in Barangay Limutan, General Nakar town, where he is currently serving as Punong Barangay (barangay captain). Mr. Surbano, who has been the first author’s primary Remontado language consultant since 2007, also translated and read the story ‘The Wind and the Sun’ (cf. Appendix C), based on an unpublished Tagalog version. The audio files were recorded in 44.1kHz 16-bit WAV format on Zoom H4 and H6 recorders using Shure SM-94 microphones, and were edited on a Samsung laptop using Adobe Audition software. Words and phrases were specially chosen for recording for this description from the authors’ Remontado lexical database and were recorded in isolation in citation form. All original recordings are to be deposited with ScholarSpace.

**2. Phonology** As illustrated in Table 3, the phoneme inventory of Remontado is identical to that of many Philippine languages such as most dialects of Tagalog (in which [o] and [e] only occur as allophones of /u/ and /i/, respectively) and many dialects of Cebuano (i.e., those which have merged PAN \*ə with \*u as /u/), with 16 con-

<sup>16</sup>David Zorc, who was in the Philippines around the time that Llamzon was first working on Hatang-Kayi, notes (pers. comm., 6/14/18) that while Sinauna “was clearly Ted’s favored term for the Hatang-Kayi or Remontado”, he tried to advise Llamzon to “deemphasize any connection to Tagalog” and only use the name Sinauna with “the intent...that this was an ‘Aboriginal Luzon language’” (since Zorc himself was working on Aboriginal languages in Australia at that time).

<sup>17</sup>Note that Remontado *ata*, like Umiray Dumaget *agta*, means ‘person’ in general, including non-negritos.

sonants and three vowels.<sup>18</sup> As is also common throughout the Austronesian family (cf. Blust 2013:172, 558), /t/ is pronounced as a postdental [ɬ]. Uncommon phonetic features that are found in the Hatang-Kayi language are the allophonic fricativization of /p/ as [ɸ] in all positions, and the allophonic diphthongization of /i/ as [ea] which is also found in Umiray Dumaget.

**Table 3.** The phoneme inventory of Remontado

Consonants				Vowels	
p	t	k	ʔ	i	u
b	d	g			
	s		h	a	
m	n	ŋ			
	l				
	r				
w	j				

As illustrated in Table 4, the vast majority of the consonants of Remontado can occur in any position, although it does not appear to be the case that /h/ can occur word-finally, nor /r/ except in loans of Spanish or English origin.<sup>19</sup>

It is noteworthy that the glottal stop can occur without restriction morpheme-internally in both preconsonantal and postconsonantal position in Hatang-Kayi, as opposed to most other Austronesian languages, where only one morpheme-internal order is allowed outside of reduplicated monosyllables. In this regard, Hatang-Kayi is similar to several other minority languages in the Philippines, including Manide and Inagta Alabat in southern Luzon.

Another especially noteworthy feature of the Remontado language compared to the other languages of central and southern Luzon (with the exception of Umiray Dumaget and the Alta languages), is the occurrence of nearly all of its consonants as geminates. Most consonants, including /ʔ/ and /h/, have been found as geminates in the current data set, most commonly the result of morphological processes (e.g., the C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>1</sub> reduplication that marks the present of Actor Focus <um> verbs, as illustrated in Table 5). Morpheme-internally, however, only three consonants have been identified so far as occurring as geminates: /n/ (e.g., *kamannalipit* ‘scorpion’), /t/ (e.g., *ittí* ‘second-oldest sister’), and /s/ (e.g., *bussú* ‘youngest child’), as illustrated in Table 6. Only /m/, /w/, and /r/ have not been found as geminates anywhere in the data, although this is quite possibly a shortcoming of the current data set itself, and not an actual phonotactic restriction. Table 6 illustrates the three vowel phonemes and four vowel-glide sequences of Remontado, along with examples of morpheme-internal geminates.

<sup>18</sup>Note that some Remontado forms were mistakenly written in Lobel (2013:74) as having a phonemic /o/, which is not in fact a contrastive vowel in the Remontado language. All instances of “o” in the Remontado data in that work should have been written as “u” instead.

<sup>19</sup>Note that these two consonants also occur in coda position much more rarely in most other Philippine languages than do other consonants.

Table 4. Consonant phonemes

#_	V_	#_
p	apád /a'pad/ 'near'	mighanáp /migha'nap/ 'searched'
b	ba-yú /baʔ'ju/ 'new'	súkub /'sukub/ 'body'
m	muhára /mu'hara/ 'spear'	matadím /mata'dim/ 'sharp'
w	waká /wa'ka/ 'rattan'	miúhaw /mi'ʔuhaw/ 'thirsty'
t	tuád /tuʔad/ 'wood'	maiít /maʔi'ʔit/ 'hard'
d	da-dâ /daʔdaʔ/ 'foot'	kasanád /kasa'nad/ 'sibling'
s	sálu /'salu/ 'river'	marúkas /ma'rukas/ 'bad'
n	nanġâ /nan'kaʔ/ 'jackfruit'	búlan /'bulan/ 'moon, month'
l	lútâ /'lutaʔ/ 'earth'	badíl /ba'dil/ 'gun'
r	rúngis /'runjis/ 'cave bat'	—
j	yamúk /ja'muk/ 'mosquito'	baláy /ba'laj/ 'house'
k	káling /ka'lin/ 'bone'	buák /bu'ʔák/ 'hair'
g	gataw /ga'taw/ 'swim'	kulíg /ku'lig/ 'piglet'
ŋ	ngáran /'ŋaran/ 'name'	tutudíng /tutu'din/ 'dragonfly'
ʔ	ígang /'igap/ 'stone'	sadyû /sa'djuʔ/ 'far'
h	hantik /han'tik/ 'big red ant'	—

Table 5. Morphological gemination of consonants

Initial Consonant	Root	Actor Focus present	Actor Focus future
p	pasná /pas'na/ 'sit'	pappasná /pappas'na/	papasná /papas'na/
b	bilí /bi'li/ 'buy'	bibbilí /bibbi'li/	bibilí /bibli'li/
t	tayû /ta'ju?/ 'stand'	tattayû /tatta'ju?/	tatayû /tata'ju?/
d	datáng /da'taŋ/ 'arrive'	daddatáng /dadda'taŋ/	dadatáng /dada'taŋ/
s	sulí /su'li?/ 'look'	sussulí /susu'li?/	susulí /susu'li?/
l	lu-múd /lu? mud/ 'enter'	lullu-múd /lulu? mud/	lulu-múd /lulu? mud/
j	yapús /ja'pus/ 'hug'	yayyapús /jajja'pus/	yayapús /jaja'pus/
k	ka-wát /ka? wat/ 'climb'	kakka-wát /kakka? wat/	kaka-wát /kaka? wat/
g	garampáng /garam'paŋ/ 'crawl'	gaggarampáng /gaggaram'paŋ/	gagarampáng /gagaram'paŋ/
ŋ	ngarisngís /ŋaris'ŋis/ 'laugh'	ngangngarisngís /ŋaŋŋaris'ŋis/	ngangarisngís /ŋaŋaris'ŋis/
ʔ	urán /u'ran/ 'rain'	û-urán /u?u'ran/	uurán /u?u'ran/
h	hidám /hi'dam/ 'borrow'	hihhidám /hihi'dam/	hihidám /hihi'dam/

**Table 6.** Vowel phonemes, vowel-glide sequences, and morpheme-internal geminate

	Remontado	IPA	English Gloss
a	tataklá	/tatak'la/	'feces'
i	biníbil	/bi'nibil/	'banana species'
u	bunnúnggù	/bun'nungu?/	'bumped into'
aw	maganháw	/magan'haw/	'warm'
aj	páray	/'paraj/	'rice in field'
iw	púliw	/'puliw/	'eagle (small)'
uj	alibuybúy	/alibuj'buj/	'big black ant'
nn	kamannalípít	/kamanna'lipit/	'scorpion'
ss	bussú	/bus'su/	'younger sibling'
tt	ittí	/it'ti/	'oldest sister'

There are no word-initial or word-final consonant clusters in native vocabulary in the Remontado language, but as in most other languages of the northern and central Philippines, there are few if any restrictions on word-medial consonant clusters, as illustrated in Table 7.

**Table 7.** Medial consonant clusters

	preconsonantal	post-consonantal
p	lapgún /lap'gun/ 'walk'	ra-pág /ra?pag/ 'fall'
b	matab-áng /matab'ʔaŋ/ 'bland'	rangbún /raŋ'bun/ 'many'
m	matam-ís /matam'ʔis/ 'sweet'	ikmú /ik'mu/ 'betel leaf'
w	taw-án /taw'ʔan/ 'I don't know'	sagwán /sag'wan/ 'paddle'
t	gitná /git'na?/ 'middle'	ira-tún /ira'tun/ 'put'
d	tadyáng /tad'jaŋ/ 'rib'	langdapán /laŋda'pan/ 'listen'
s	pus-ún /pus'ʔun/ 'lower abdomen'	tansû /tan'su?/ 'bronze'
n	muntí /mun'ti?/ 'small'	ba-ná /ba?na/ 'get'
l	bul-û /bul'ʔu?/ 'young carabao'	tablúng /tab'lun/ 'vine'
r	tir-ág /tir'ʔag/ 'burp'	bikrá /bik'ra/ 'surprised'
j	bay-awáng /baj'a'wan/ 'waist'	maba-yát /maba?jat/ 'heavy'
k	dukma /duk'ma/ 'raincloud'	kabká /kab'kab/ 'frog'
g	agbâ /ag'ba?/ 'collapse'	ru-gús /ru'gus/ 'wind'
ŋ	tungdû /tuŋ'du?/ 'sleep'	malisngán /malis'ŋan/ 'fly (big)'
ʔ	pag-ú /pag'ʔu/ 'turtle'	a-dúng /a?duŋ/ 'nose'
h	—	balaghádì /balag'hadi?/ 'rainbow'

As can be observed from the lexical items throughout this paper, stress is unpredictable in Remontado, and presumed to be phonemic as in Tagalog and a number of other major Philippine languages, although no minimal pairs for stress were recorded.

**3. Grammatical subsystems** As functors are known to form the backbone of Philippine and Philippine-type languages (cf. McFarland 1974, Zorc 1977, 1978, and Lobel 2013), this section will provide a brief illustration of the various functor subsystems in the Remontado language, including personal pronouns, case markers, demonstratives/deictics, interrogatives, negators, adverbs of time, adverbial particles, and numbers.

**3.1 Personal Pronouns** As illustrated in Table 8, Remontado has six sets of pronouns, corresponding to the nominative, genitive, and oblique cases found in most Philippine languages. In the nominative case, a distinction is made between long forms which are used clause-initially, and shorter cliticized forms which are used elsewhere. The oblique case is represented by two synonymous sets, and while the post-posed genitive pronouns can express possession, another set of preposed possessive pronouns also exists.<sup>20</sup> Finally, as in many other Philippine-type languages (cf. Lobel 2013:118–121), sequences of *ku* followed by *si-ká* or *ka* are not allowed, and are instead replaced by the portmanteau pronoun *katá*.

**3.2 Case Markers** Like most other Philippine and Philippine-type languages, Remontado has a set of case markers (cf. Table 9) which introduce nouns and indicate the role of these nouns in relation to the verb(s) in the clause. These case markers mark the same nominative, genitive, and oblique cases that are also marked in the personal pronouns and demonstratives/deictics. Within the case marker system, there are separate sets for marking common nouns as opposed to persons' names, and there is a distinction between singular and plural in the personal name case markers (with the plural indicating meanings such as '\_\_\_\_' and the others', '\_\_\_\_' and his/her group'). Within the nominative common noun markers, there is a distinction between the generic *i*, the form *ta* which marks proximate entities, the form *ya* which marks specific or [+referential] entities, and the form *pu* which marks [+referential] entities which were encountered in the past. Note that the latter three forms parallel the demonstrative bases in form if not in function.

**3.3 Demonstrative Pronouns** As with the personal pronouns and case markers, the demonstrative pronouns (cf. Table 10a and 10b) also encode a three-way distinction between nominative, genitive, and oblique case-marked forms. Three additional sets exist: one indicating present location (based on the oblique forms infixed with <in>); one expressing manner, e.g., 'like this' or 'like that' (based on the genitive forms prefixed with g-); and one serving as a verb of directional movement, e.g., 'come here' or 'go there', based on the long nominative forms which serve as the verb root. Each of the sets of demonstrative pronouns has three possible points of deixis, corresponding to the 1st-person, 2nd-person, and 3rd-person contrast in the personal pronouns.

<sup>20</sup>Cf. Lobel (2013:103–133) for a detailed discussion of the development of the pronominal systems of Philippine and Philippine-type languages.



Table 8. Remontado personal pronouns

	Nom (Long)	Nom (Short)	Gen	Obl-1	Obl-2	Pre-Pos.
1SG	sakú /sa'ku/	— (=Long)	ku /ku/	kadsakú /kadsa'ku/	kadu'wáku /kadu'waku/	wakú /wa'ku/
2SG	si-ká /si?'ka/	ka /ka/	mu /mu/	kadsi-ká /kadsi?'ka/	kadu'wámu /kadu'wamu/	wamú /wa'mu/
3SG	si-yá /si?'ja/	— (=Long)	din /din/	kadsi-yá /kadsi?'ja/	kadu'wádin /kadu'wadin/	wadín /wa'din/
1EXCL	si-kamí /si?'ka mi/	kamí /ka mi/	mi /mi/	kadsi-kamí /kadsi?'ka mi/	kadu'wámi /kadu'wami/	wamí /wa'mi/
1INCL.DU	si-tá /si?'ta/	ta /ta/	ta /ta/	kadsi-tá /kadsi?'ta/	kadu'wáta /kadu'wata/	watá /wa'ta/
1INCL.PL	si-tamú /si?'ta mu/	tamú /ta mu/	tamú /ta mu/	kadsi-tamú /kadsi?'ta mu/	kadu'watamú /kaduwata mu/	watamú /wata mu/
2PL	si-kamú /si?'ka mu/	kamú /ka mu/	yu /ju/	kadsi-kamú /kadsi?'ka mu/	kadu'wáyu /kadu'waju/	wayú /wa'ju/
3PL	sirá /si'ra/	— (=Long)	ra /ra/	kadsirá /kadsi'ra/	kadu'wára /kadu'wara/	wará /wa'ra/
PORT.	katá /ka'ta/					
	'by/from me to you'					

**Table 9.** Remontado case markers

	Common	Personal Sg.	Personal Pl.
<b>Nom</b>	i /i/ (non-past, generic) ta /ta/ (proximate) ya /ja/ (nonpast/ specific/referential) pu /pu/ (past/specific)†	si /si/	ra /ra/
<b>Gen</b>	id /id/	in /in/	rará /ra'ra/
<b>Obl</b>	kad /kad/	kan /kan/	kannára /kan'nara/

† No audio recording is available for this form

**Table 10a.** Remontado demonstratives/deictics

	Nom	Gen	Obl
<b>1sg (near speaker)</b>	itá /i'ta/ hatá /ha'ta/	idtá /id'ta/	kadtá /kad'ta/
<b>2sg (near addressee)</b>	iyá /i'ja/ hayá /ha'ja/	idiyá /idi'ja/	kadiyá /kadi'ja/
<b>3sg (far from both)</b>	ipú /i'pu/ hapú /ha'pu/	idpú /id'pu/	kannâ /kan'na?/

**Table 10b.** Additional Remontado demonstratives/deictics

	Present-Location	Manner	Verb
<b>1sg (near speaker)</b>	kinadtá /kinad'ta/	gidtá /gid'ta/	humatá /huma'ta/
<b>2sg (near addressee)</b>	kinadiyá /kinadi'ja/	gidiyá /gidi'ja/	humayá /huma'ja/
<b>3sg (far from both)</b>	kinannâ /kinan'na?/	gidpú /gid'pu/	humapú /huma'pu/

Note that the long nominative demonstratives (i.e., those containing *ha-*) were misanalyzed in Santos (1975) as plurals, which is not the case, as can be observed by the language name *Hatang-Kayi*, which means ‘This Language’, not ‘These Languages’.

**3.4 Interrogatives** The Remontado language has a number of distinct interrogative forms, most of which are based on the root *aná* ‘what’, as can be observed from Table 11.

Table 11. Remontado interrogatives

Remontado	IPA	English Gloss
aná	/a'na/	'what'
si-ná	/si?'na/	'who' (NOM.SG)
sirisi-ná	/sirisi?'na/	'who' (NOM.PL)
kansi-ná	/kansi?'na/	'to/for whom' (OBL)
kairán	/ka?'i'ran/	'when'
kanná	/kan'na/	'where'
pakanná	/pakan'na/	'headed where'
tagakanná	/tagakan'na/	'from where'
ginná	/gin'na/	'how much (price)'
paaná	/pa?'a'na/	'how (manner)'
mi-paaná	/mi?'pa?'a'na/	'what happened to it'
gaaná	/ga?'a'na/	'how (extent)'
irán	/i'ran/	'how many'
anába at	/a'naba 'ʔat/	'why'
at taná	/at ta'na/	'why'
inaaná	/ina?'a'na/	'what was done to it'
aan-án	/a?'an'ʔan/	'what will be done to it'

**3.5 Negators** There are four distinct negators in the Remontado language (cf. Table 12): *walâ* (and its short form *lâ*) which negates verbs, and expresses non-existence ('there isn't', 'there aren't') and non-possession ('don't have', 'doesn't have'); *awán*, which forms negative commands; *la-wá*, which means 'I don't like it' or 'I don't want to'; and *taw-án* which means 'I don't know'.

Table 12. Remontado negators

Remontado	IPA	English Gloss
walâ	/wa'laʔ/	(1) negates verbs (2) negates existence or presence
lâ	/laʔ/	(short form of <i>walâ</i> )
awán	/a'wan/	'don't!' (in commands)
la-wá	/la?'wa/	'I don't like it'; 'I don't want to'
taw-án	/taw'ʔan/	'I don't know'

**3.6 Adverbs of Time and Parts of the Day** Tables 13 and 14 illustrate the adverbs of time and parts of the day, respectively, in the Remontado language.

**3.7 Particles and Other Adverbials** Like other Philippine and Philippine-type languages, Remontado has a variety of adverbial particles which are frequently used in order to add important meanings to a given clause. As can be observed from Table 15, however, only one of these forms is unique (*alâb* 'hopefully'), and, in general,

Table 13. Remontado adverbs of time

Remontado	IPA	English Gloss
idpú isáng aydáw	/id'pu i'saŋ aj'daw/	'the day before yesterday'
kanápun	/ka'napun/	'yesterday'
kanáyna	/ka'najna/	'earlier'
ngatá	/ŋa'ta/	'today', 'now'
baraba-yú	/barabaʔju/	'later'
kad-umága	/kadʔu'maga/	'tomorrow'
kad-búkas	/kad'bukas/	'tomorrow'
kad-makalawá	/kadmakala'wa/	'the day after tomorrow'
kad-ábì	/kad'ʔabiʔ/	'last night'
idpu láun	/idpu 'laʔun/	'in the past'

Table 14. Remontado parts of the day

Remontado	IPA	English Gloss
umága	/u'maga/	'morning'
tanghári	/taŋ'hariʔ/	'noon'
hápun	/'hapun/	'afternoon'
abì	/a'biʔ/	'night'
kadhating-abì	/kadhatiŋʔa'biʔ/	midnight'
aydáw	/aj'daw/	'day'
údas	/'udas/	'hour'

Table 15. Remontado particles

Remontado	IPA	English
na	/na/	'already', 'now'; 'anymore' (with a negative)
pa	/pa/	'still', 'more'; 'yet' (with a negative)
din	/din/	'also, too'
múnà	/'munaʔ/	'first' (before doing anything else)
pa din	/pa din/	'still, after all this time'
sa-ná	/saʔ'na/	'hopefully', 'ideally', 'preferably'
lang	/laŋ/	'only', 'just'
lámang	/'laman/	'only', 'just'
ngánì	/'ŋaniʔ/	'really' (adds emphasis)
aláb	/a'lab/	'again'
palâ	/pa'laʔ/	surprise marker
namán	/na'man/	(1) 'also', 'too'; (2) connotes repetition of occurrence
man	/man/	'even if', 'regardless'
ba	/ba/	question marker
daw	/daw/	quotative particle
patî	/pa'tiʔ/	'including', 'even'

the entire set of particles shows a degree of assimilation to (Southern) Tagalog not found in the other functor sets. In addition to the adverbial particles, other important grammatical words are listed in Table 16.

**3.8 Numbers** As is common among Austronesian languages, Remontado has a decimal system of counting whose numbers from one to nine are monomorphemic, as are the unit terms for ‘ten’ (*pû*), ‘hundred’ (*dáan*), and ‘thousand’ (*libu*). The multiples of tens, hundreds, and thousands are formed by the number from one to nine followed by the linker *na* ~ *-ng* and the unit term for ‘ten’, ‘hundred’, or ‘thousand’, with the exception of the numbers ‘ten’ and ‘one hundred’, which are contracted to *sampû* and *sangdáan*, respectively. The numbers from 11 to 19 are formed in a similar way as in Tagalog, with the term *labíng-* preceding the number from one to nine. In general, the Remontado numbers are largely identical to those of modern Tagalog, with the exception of *isâ* ‘one’ with a final glottal stop (vs. Tagalog *isá*), *dar-á* ‘two’ (vs. Tagalog *dalawá* ~ *dalwá*), *a-pát* ‘four’ (vs. Tagalog *ápat*), and *a-nim* ‘six’ (vs. Tagalog *ánim*). Table 17 illustrates the cardinal numbers of Remontado.

Table 16. Additional Remontado grammar words

Remontado	IPA	English
at	/at/	‘and’, ‘because’
ay	/aj/	‘but’
u	/u/	‘or’
dáhil	/ˈdakil/	‘because’
in	/in/	‘if’
hábang	/ˈhabaŋ/	‘while’
hanggáng	/haŋˈgaŋ/	‘until’
inlâ	/inˈlaʔ/	‘if not’, ‘except’
kay	/kaj/	‘have’
húu	/ˈhuʔu/	‘yes’
adî	/aˈdiʔ/	‘can’, ‘is possible’, ‘is permissible’
bakâ	/baˈkaʔ/	‘perhaps’, ‘maybe’
gagíd	/gaˈgid/	‘it’s as if’

As illustrated in Table 18, the ordinal numbers are formed by the prefix *ika-* plus the number base, except for the word for ‘first’, which is *u-ná*.

Finally, as illustrated in Table 19, Remontado has a set of distributive numbers formed with the prefix *tig-*.

**4. Verb Morphology** As is characteristic of Philippine languages in general, Remontado has an elaborate system of verbal morphology which encodes a variety of information, from the Philippine-wide phenomenon commonly referred to as either ‘focus’ or ‘voice’, to tense-aspect, plurality of actors, transitivity, and a variety of semantic modes including abilitative/accidental, causative, and reciprocal. While far too complex to be thoroughly described in a short sketch such as this, Tables 20 and 21 list

Table 17. Remontado numbers

Remontado	IPA	Gloss
isâ	/i'saʔ/	1
dar-á	/dar'ʔa/	2
tatlú	/tat'lu/	3
a-pát	/aʔ'pat/	4
limá	/li'ma/	5
a-ním	/aʔ'nim/	6
pitú	/pi'tu/	7
walú	/wa'lu/	8
siyám	/si'jam/	9
sampû	/sam'puʔ/	10
labing-isá	/labiŋʔi'sa/	11
labing-dar-á	/labiŋdar'ʔa/	12
dar-angpû	/darʔaŋ'puʔ/	20
dar-angpû't isá	/darʔaŋ'put i'sa/	21
dar-angpû't dar-á	/darʔaŋ'put dar'ʔa/	22
tatlungpû	/tatlung'puʔ/	30
a-patnapû	/aʔpatna'puʔ/	40
limangpû	/limaŋ'puʔ/	50
a-nimnapû	/aʔnimna'puʔ/	60
pitungpû	/pituŋ'puʔ/	70
walungpû	/waluŋ'puʔ/	80
siyamnapû	/sijamna'puʔ/	90
sangdáan	/saŋ'daʔan/	100
dar-áng dáan	/dar'ʔaŋ'daʔan/	200
tatlúng dáan	/tat'luŋ'daʔan/	300
a-pát na dáan	/aʔ'pat na'daʔan/	400
isáng líbu	/i'saŋ'libu/	1,000
dar-áng líbu	/dar'ʔaŋ'libu/	2,000

Table 18. Remontado ordinal numbers

Remontado	IPA	English
u-ná	/uʔ'na/	'first'
ikadar-á	/ikadar'ʔa/	'second'
ikatatlú	/ikatat'lu/	'third'
ikaapát	/ikaʔa'pat/	'fourth'
ikalimá	/ikali'ma/	'fifth'
ikaaním	/ikaʔan'im/	'sixth'
ikapitú	/ikapi'tu/	'seventh'
ikawalú	/ikawa'lu/	'eighth'
ikasiyám	/ikasi'jam/	'ninth'
ikasampû	/ikasam'puʔ/	'tenth'

Table 19. Remontado distributive numbers

Remontado	IPA	English
tig-isá	/tigʔi'sa/	'one each'
tigdar-á	/tigdar'ʔa/	'two each'
tigatlú	/tigat'lu/	'three each'
tig-apát	/tigʔa'pat/	'four each'
tiglimá	/tigli'ma/	'five each'
tig-aním	/tigʔa'nim/	'six each'
tigpitú	/tigpi'tu/	'seven each'
tigwalú	/tigwa'lu/	'eight each'
tigsiyám	/tigsì'jam/	'nine each'
tigsampû	/tigsam'puʔ/	'ten each'

many of the most common verbal affix paradigms of the language, while Table 22 provides some conjugated sample verbs based on the roots *pangán* 'eat', *lútù* 'cook', and *ba-yát* 'heavy', and Table 25 in Appendix B provides illustrative sentences for most of the verbs in Table 22. As in most other Philippine languages, there are three separate conjugations marking the basic Actor Focus, depending on the root: <um> (e.g., *pumasná* 'sit (AF.INF)' < *pasná* 'sit'), *mag-* (e.g., *maglútù* 'cook (AF.INF)' < *lútù* 'cook'), and *maN-* (e.g., *mangyádi* 'happen (AF.INF)' < *yádi*). Similarly, some roots have both <um> and *mag-* forms but with different meanings, e.g., *pumutî* 'turn white' vs. *magputî* 'wear white'; *dumakáp* 'hold something' vs. *magdakáp* 'hold each other'; *tumindíg* 'stand up (intransitive)' vs. *magtindíg* 'build something, as a house'; *bumilí* 'buy' vs. *magbilí* 'sell'; and *pumalít* 'stand in as a replacement for someone or something' vs. *magpalít* 'replace one thing with another (transitive)'. Object Focus is marked by *-in* or *-an*,<sup>21</sup> Location Focus by *-an*, Secondary Object Focus and Benefactive Focus by *i-*, and Instrument Focus by *ipag-* or *ipaN-*, depending on the root. Three tense-aspect forms exist other than the infinitive forms cited above, which can be referred to broadly as the past, present/progressive, and future. Syncopation occurs in a small number of suffixed verbs in Remontado, e.g., *sulí* 'look' vs. *sul-án* 'look at' (LF);<sup>22</sup> *aná* 'what' vs. *aan-án* 'will do what to it' (OF); while a handful of other common verbs have irregular suffixed forms, e.g., *bal-án* 'get' (OF.INF) < *ba-ná* 'get', and *hawa-nán* 'accompany' (LF.INF) < *háwa* 'accompany'. Interestingly, unlike Tagalog where an /h/ almost always surfaces between a vowel-final root and a suffix, many Remontado roots insert a glottal stop instead, e.g., *purián* 'go to' (LF.INF) < *puri* 'go', *hapuán* 'go there' (LF.INF) < *hapú* 'there (far from both speaker and addressee)', *pasnaán* 'sit on' (LF.INF) < *pasná* 'sit'. A seemingly larger number, however, do insert an /h/, e.g., *darahín* 'bring' (OF.INF) < *dará* 'bring'; *tutulíhan* 'remove earwax' < *tutulí* 'earwax'; *padar-ahín* 'make two', *patatluhín* 'make three', *palimahín* 'make five', etc.. In all cases, however, root-final glottal stop is preserved under suffixation, e.g., *atáan*

<sup>21</sup>The *-an* variant appears to be the native reflex of PAN \*-ən, while *-in* is a likely adaptation from Tagalog.

<sup>22</sup>Table 24 in Appendix A contains audio examples of many of the forms cited in this section which do not appear in other tables in this paper.

‘call’ (LF.INF) < *átà* ‘call’ (vs. *atáhan* ‘having many people’ < *áta* ‘person’), *pag-isaín* ‘combine’ (OF.INF) < *isâ* ‘one’. Finally, as mentioned in section 2 and illustrated in Table 5, a noteworthy feature of the Remontado verb system is its use of gemination in marking present/progressive forms.

**5. Abbreviations** The following abbreviations not in the Leipzig Glossing Rules are used in this paper:

---

ABIL	abilitative/accidental mode
AF	actor focus
Brgy.	barangay (the next smaller geopolitical division in the Philippines after the city or town)
IF	instrument focus
LF	location focus
OF	object focus
OF <sub>2</sub>	secondary object focus
PAN	Proto–Austronesian
PMP	Proto–Malayo–Polynesian
SUP	superlative

---



Table 20. Basic Remontado verb morphology

	Actor Focus <um>	Actor Focus <i>mag-</i>	Actor Focus <i>maN-</i>	Object Focus	Location Focus	Second. Object Focus
INF	<um>	mag-	maN-	-in ~ -an	-an	i-
PST	<unn>	mig-	miN-	<in>	<in>...-an	ini-
PRS	C<unn>V-	minag-	minaN-	C<in>V-	C<in>V...-an	ini-CV-
	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>1</sub> -	ag-		C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>1</sub> -	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>1</sub> ...-an	i-C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>1</sub> -
FUT	CV-	mag-CV-	maN-CV-	CV...-in/-an	CV...-an	i-CV-
ABIL.INF	maka-	makapag-	makapaN-	ma-	ma...-an	mai-
ABIL.PST	mî-ka-	mî-kapag-	mî-kapaN-	mî-	mî...-an	maini-
ABIL.PRS	minaka-	minakapag-	minakapaN-	minâ-	minâ...-an	minâ-
ABIL.FUT	maka-CV-	makapag-CV-	makapaN-CV-	mâ-CV-	mâ-CV...-an	mai-CV-

Table 21. More Remontado verb morphology

	Actor Focus	Object Focus	Location Focus	Secondary Obj. Focus
CAUSATIVE	INF	magpa-	pa-...-in	ipa-
	PAST	migpa-	pina-	ipina-
	PRES	minagpa-	pina-CV-, pinapa-	ipinapa-
	FUT	magpapa-	pa-CV-...-in, papa-...-in	ipapa-
CAUS-ABIL	INF	makapagpa-	mapa-	maipa-
	PAST	mî-kapagpa-	mî-pa-	mîipa-
	PRES	minakapagpa-	minapa-	minaipa-
	FUT	makapagpapa-	mapapa-	maipapa-
RECIPROCAL	INF	mag-...-an	pag-...-in/-an	—
	PAST	mig-...-an	pinag-...-an	—
	PRES	minag-...-an	pinag-CV-	—
	FUT	mag-CV-...-an	pag-CV-...-in	—
RECIP-ABIL	INF	makapag-...-an	mapag-	—
	PAST	mî-kapag-...-an	mî-pag-	—
	PRES	minakapag-...-an	minapag-	—
	FUT	makapag-CV-...-an	mapag-CV-	—
RECIP-ABIL <sub>2</sub>	INF	magka-	—	—
	PAST	migka-	—	—
	PRES	minagka-	—	—
	FUT	magkaka-	—	—
PLURAL	INF	magsi-	—	—
	PAST	migsi-	—	—
	PRES	minagsi-	—	—
	FUT	magsi-CV-	—	—

Table 22. Selected Remontado verb forms

	Actor Focus <um>	Actor Focus <i>mag-</i>	Object Focus	Location Focus	Secondary Object Focus
INF	pumangán	maglútù	pangnán	pangnán	ipangán
PAST	punnangán	miglútù	pinangán	pinangnán	ipinangán
PRES	pappangán	minaglútù	pinapangán	pinapangnán	ipinapangán
FUT	papangán	maglulútù	papangnán	papangnán	ipapangán
ABL-INF	makapangán	—	mapangán	maba-yatan†	—
ABL-PST	mî-kapangán	—	mî-pangán	mî-ba-yatan†	—
ABL-PRS	minakapangán	—	minapangán	minaba-yatan†	—
ABL-FUT	makapapangán	—	mapapangán	mababa-yatan†	—
CAUS-INF	magpapangán	—	papangnán	—	ipapangán
CAUS-PST	migpapangán	—	pinapangán	—	ipinapangán
CAUS-PRS	minagpapangán	—	pinapapangán	—	ipinapapangán
CAUS-FUT	magpapapangán†	—	papapangnán	—	ipapapangán


† No audio recordings for these forms, but sentences including them can be found in Appendix B.


## References

- Blust, Robert A. 1991. The Greater Central Philippines hypothesis. *Oceanic Linguistics* 30(1). 73–129.
- Blust, Robert A. 2013. *The Austronesian languages*. Asia-Pacific Linguistics. pa-cling.anu.edu.au/materials/Blust2013Austronesian.pdf.
- Blust, Robert A. & Steve Trussel. Ongoing. *Austronesian comparative dictionary*. <http://www.trussel2.com/ACD>.
- English, Leo J. 1986. Tagalog–English Dictionary. Mandaluyong City: Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer and National Book Store.
- Grimes, Barbara F. (ed.). 1988. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Eleventh edition*. Dallas, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc.
- Harrison, Francis B. 1922. *The corner-stone of Philippine independence: a narrative of seven years*. New York: The Century Co. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=miun.afj2343.0001.001>.
- Harrison, Francis B. 1936a. The diary of Francis Burton Harrison, February 27, 1936. <https://philippinediaryproject.wordpress.com/1936/02/27/february-27-1936/>.
- Harrison, Francis B. 1936b. The diary of Francis Burton Harrison, May 16, 1936. <https://philippinediaryproject.wordpress.com/1936/05/16/may-16-1936/>.
- Himes, Ronald S. 2012. The Central Luzon group of languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 51(2). 490–537.
- Kalaw, Maximo M. 1919. Recent policy towards the non-Christian people of the Philippines. *The Journal of International Relations* 10(1). 1–12.
- Larkin, John A. 1993. *Sugar and the Origins of Modern Philippine Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press. <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft4580066d/>.
- Lobel, Jason W. 2004. Old Bikol -um- vs. mag- and the loss of a morphological paradigm. *Oceanic Linguistics* 43(2). 340–368.
- Lobel, Jason W. 2010. Manide: an undescribed Philippine language. *Oceanic Linguistics* 49(2). 480–512.
- Lobel, Jason W. 2013. Philippine and North Bornean languages: Issues in description, subgrouping, and reconstruction. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i. Doctoral dissertation.
- Lobel, Jason W. 2016. Notes from the field: Ponosakan: The sounds of a silently dying language of Indonesia, with supporting audio. *Language Documentation & Conservation* 10. 394–423. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/24700>.
- Lobel, Jason W. & Ade T. Paputungan. 2017. Notes from the field: Lolak: Another moribund language of Indonesia, with supporting audio. *Language Documentation & Conservation* 11. 328–363. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/24758>.
- Lobel, Jason W. & Labi H. S. Riwarung. 2011. Notes from the field: Maranao: A preliminary phonological sketch with supporting audio. *Language Documentation & Conservation* 5. 31–39. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/4487>.
- Mateo, Grace Estela C. 2004. A history of Ilocos: a story of the regionalization of Spanish colonialism. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i. Doctoral dissertation.

- McFarland, Curtis D. 1974. The dialects of the Bikol area. New Haven, CT: Yale University. Doctoral dissertation.
- Panganiban, José V. 1972. *Diksyunaryo-Tesouro Pilipino-Inglis*. Quezon City: Manlapaz Publishing Company.
- Reid, Lawrence A. 1994. Possible non-Austronesian lexical elements in Philippine Negrito languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 33(1). 37–72.
- Reid, Lawrence A. 2010. Historical linguistics and Philippine hunter-gatherers. In Billings, Loren & Nelleke Goudswaard (eds.), *Piakandatu ami Dr. Howard P. McKaughan*, 234–260. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines and SIL Philippines.
- Robinson, Laura C. & Jason W. Lobel. 2013. The Northeastern Luzon subgroup of Philippine languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 52(1). 125–168.
- Santos, Pilar C. 1975. Sinauna Tagalog: A genetic study examining its relationship with other Philippine languages. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University. MA thesis.
- Simons, Gary F. & Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2017. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Twentieth edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. <http://www.ethnologue.com>.
- United States Bureau of the Census. 1905. *Census of the Philippine Islands, taken under the Direction of the Philippine Commission in the Year 1903, in Four Volumes, Volume 1: Geography, History, and Population*. Washington, D.C.: United States Bureau of the Census.
- Wolff, John U. 1972. *A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan*. Ithaca (New York): Cornell University.
- Yap, Fe A. 1977. *A comparative study of Philippine lexicons*. Manila: Institute of National Language.
- Zorc, R. David. 1977. *The Bisayan dialects of the Philippines: Subgrouping and reconstruction*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Zorc, R. David. 1978. Functor analysis: A method of quantifying function words for comparing and classifying languages. In Wölck, Wolfgang & Paul L. Garvin (eds.), *Papers from the fifth LACUS forum*, 510–521. Columbia, SC: Hornbeam Press.

Jason William Lobel  
jasonlobel@yahoo.com

 [orcid.org/0000-0001-7780-3184](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7780-3184)

Orlando Vertudez Surbano  
 [orcid.org/0000-0002-5293-3676](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5293-3676)

## Appendix A. Additional Remontado forms mentioned in the text

Table 23. Names of Remontado communities and other place names

Place names	IPA of Remontado pronunciation	Gloss
Daraitan	/dara'ʔitan/	'Daraitan' (an ethnic-Remontado community where the language is no longer spoken)
General Nakar	/hiniral 'nakar/	'General Nakar' (name of town where Remontado-speaking communities are located)
Infanta	/iŋ'panta/	'Infanta' (name of town where Remontado was once spoken)
Kaybilukaw	/kajbi'lukaw/	'Kaybilukaw' (name of formerly Remontado-speaking community)
Kinabuan	/kina'buʔan/	'Kinabuan' (name of Remontado-speaking community)
Limutan	/li'mutan/	'Limutan' (name of barangay where Remontado-speaking communities are located)
Makid-ata	/makid'ʔata/	'Makid-ata' (name of formerly Remontado-speaking community)
Mararaut	/mara'raʔut/	'Mararaut' (an ethnic-Remontado community where the language is no longer spoken)
Minanga	/mi'naŋa/	'Minanga' (name of Remontado-speaking community)
Nayon	/'najun/	'Nayon' (name of Remontado-speaking community)
Paimuhuan	/paʔimu'huʔan/	'Paimuhuan' (name of Remontado-speaking community)
Pinutian	/pinuti'jan/	'Pinutian' (name of formerly Remontado-speaking community)
Puray	/'puraj/	'Puray' (an ethnic-Remontado community where the language is no longer spoken)
Santa Inez	/'saŋta ʔi'nis/	'Santa Inez' (name of barangay where Remontado-speaking communities are located)
Sari	/sa'ri/	'Sari' (name of Remontado-speaking community)
Tanay	/tan'ʔaj/	'Tanay' (name of town where Remontado-speaking communities are located)
Wawa	/wa'waʔ/	'Wawa' (an ethnic-Remontado community where the language is no longer spoken)

**Table 24.** Additional Remontado words mentioned in the text

Remontado	IPA	Gloss
áta	/ˈata/	‘person’
atáhan	/aˈtahan/	‘having lots of people’
átà	/ˈataʔ/	‘call’
atáan	/aˈtaʔan/	‘call’ (LF.INF)
ba-ná	/baʔˈna/	‘get’
bina-ná	/binaʔˈna/	‘get’ (OF.PST)
bal-án	/balˈʔan/	‘get’ (OF.INF)
dará	/daˈra/	‘bring’
darahín	/daraˈhin/	‘bring’ (OF.INF)
hapú	/haˈpu/	‘that (far from both speaker and addressee)’
hahapuán	/hahapuˈʔan/	‘go there’ (LF.FUT)
háwa	/ˈhawa/	‘accompany’
hawa-nán	/hawaʔˈnan/	‘accompany’ (LF.INF)
pasná	/pasˈna/	‘sit’
pasnáan	/pasˈnaʔan/	‘chair’; ‘sit on’ (LF.INF)
purí	/puˈri/	‘go’
pupurián	/pupuriˈʔan/	‘go’ (LF.FUT)
pinurián	/pinuriˈʔan/	‘go’ (LF.PST)
síku	/ˈsiku/	‘elbow’
sikuhín	/sikuˈhin/	‘elbow (v.)’ (OF.INF)
sulí	/suˈliʔ/	‘look at’
sul-án	/sulˈʔan/	‘look at’ (LF.INF)
tínga	/ˈtiŋa/	‘food stuck in-between teeth’
tiningáhan	/tiniˈŋahan/	‘removed food from between teeth’ (LF.PST)
tutulí	/tutuˈli/	‘earwax’
tututulián	/tututuˈlihan/	‘remove earwax’ (LF.FUT)
pag-isaín	/pagʔisaˈʔin/	‘put things together as one’ (OF.INF)
padar-ahín	/padarʔaˈhin/	‘make two’ (OF.CAUS.INF)
patatluhín	/patatluˈhin/	‘make three’ (OF.CAUS.INF)
palimahín	/palimaˈhin/	‘make five’ (OF.CAUS.INF)

## Appendix B. Sentence examples for verb forms listed in Table 22

Table 25. Sentence examples for verb forms from Table 22

Verb from Table 22	Example sentence
ipangan	Ipangan mu na saku kannà. /ipaŋan mu na saku kannà?/ ‘Eat some on my behalf when you go there.’
ipapangan	Ipapangan na lamang kata kannà. /ipapaŋan na lamaŋ kata kannà?/ ‘I’ll just eat some on your behalf when I go there.’
ipapangan	Hata na lamang ipapangan mu kadsì-ya. /hata na lamaŋ ipapaŋan mu kadsì?ja/ ‘Just feed him this.’
ipapapangan	Ana’y ipapapangan mu kadsì-ya baraba-yu? /anaŋ ipapapaŋan mu kadsì?ja baraba?ju/ ‘What are you going to feed him later?’
ipinapangan	Iran ipinapangan mu kadsì-ya kanayna? /iran ipinapaŋan mu kadsì?ja kanajna/ ‘How many did you feed him earlier?’
ipinapapangan	Irang pidasu ipinapapangan mu kadsì-ya aydaw-aydaw? /iraŋ pidasu ipinapapaŋan mu kadsì?ja ajdaw ajdaw/ ‘How many pieces do you feed him everyday?’
mababa-yatan	Mababa-yatan ka baraba-yu. /mababa?jatan ka baraba?ju/ ‘You’re going to end up being overwhelmed by its weight.’
maba-yatan	Bakâ maba-yatan. /baka? maba?jatan/ ‘You might end up being overwhelmed by its weight.’
maglulutù	Anang udas ka maglulutù baraba-yu? /anaŋ udas ka maglulutù? baraba?ju/ ‘What time are you going to cook later?’
maglutù	Maglutù ka! /maglutù? ka/ ‘Cook!’
magpapapangan	Si-na i magpapapangan kadsaku pag punnuri saku kannà? /si?na i magpapapaŋan kadsaku pag punnuri saku kannà?/ ‘Who’s going to feed me when I go there?’
makapangan	Sa-na’y makapangan tamu baraba-yu. /sa?naj makapaŋan tamu baraba?ju/ ‘Hopefully we’ll be able to eat later.’



*Continued from previous page*

Verb from Table 22	Example sentence
makapapangan	Makapapangan ba tamu baraba-yu? /makapapaŋan ba tamu barabaʔju/ ‘Are we going to be able to eat later?’
mapangan	Bakâ lâ mu mapangan. /bakaʔ laʔ mu mapapaŋan/ ‘You might not be able to eat it.’
mapapangan	Lâ ku iya mapapangan at kay sakit saku. /laʔ ku ija mapapaŋan at kaj sakit saku/ ‘I won’t be able to eat that because I’m sick.’
mî-ba-yatan	Mî-ba-yatan ka ba kanayna? /miʔbaʔjatan ka ba kanajna/ ‘Were you overwhelmed by its weight earlier?’
miglutù	Si-na i miglutù idta? /siʔna i miglutuʔ idta/ ‘Who cooked this?’
mî-kapangan	Mî-kapangan ka kanayna? /miʔkapaŋan ka kanajna/ ‘Were you able to eat earlier?’
minaba-yatan	Minaba-yatan ka ba kadiya? /minabaʔjatan ka ba kadija/ ‘Are you getting overwhelmed by its weight there?’
minaglutù	Minaglutù saku ngata. /minaglutuʔ saku ŋata/ ‘I’m cooking right now.’
minagpapangan	La’d minagpapangan kadsaku kannà. /lad minagpapaŋan kadsaku kannaʔ/ ‘Nobody feeds me there.’
minakapangan	Irang bisis kamu minakapangan aydaw-aydaw? /iraŋ bisis kamu minakapaŋan ajdaw ajdaw/ ‘How many times are you able to eat every day?’
mî-pangan	Mapiya at mi-pangan mu. /mapija ʔat miʔpaŋan mu/ ‘It’s good that you were able to eat it.’
pangan	Pangan mu! /paŋnan mu/ ‘Eat it!’
papangan	Papangan pa ba si-tamu? /papaŋan pa ba siʔtamu/ ‘Are we still going to eat?’

*Continued from previous page*

Verb from Table 22	Example sentence
papangnan	Papangnan mu pa ba iya? /papaŋnan mu pa ba ija/ 'Are you still going to eat that?'
papangnan	Aling balay i papangnan tamu baraba-yu? /aliŋ balaj i papaŋnan tamu barabaʔju/ 'Which house are we going to eat at later?'
papangnan	Papangnan mu si-ya. /papaŋnan mu siʔja/ 'Feed him.'
papapangnan	Rangbun pa sakung papapangnan. /raŋbun pa sakuŋ papapaŋnan/ 'I still have a lot of people to feed.'
pappangan	Pappangan pa si-ya ngata. /pappaŋan pa siʔja ŋata/ 'He's still eating right now.'
pinangnan	Ana't lâ mu pinangan? /anat laʔ mu pinaŋan/ 'Why didn't you eat it?'
pinangnan	Lâ iya i balay na pinangnan tamu kanapun. /laʔ ija i balaj na pinaŋnan tamu kanapun/ 'That's not the house that we ate at yesterday.'
pinapangan	Ana i pinapangan mu kadiya? /ana i pinapaŋan mu kadija/ 'What are you eating there?'
pinapangan	Irang ata i pinapangan mu kanayna? /iraŋ ata i pinapaŋan mu kanajna/ 'How many people did you feed earlier?'
pinapapangan	Pinapapangan ku si-ya kadta aydaw-aydaw. /pinapapaŋan ku siʔja kadta ajdaw ajdaw/ 'I feed him here every day.'
pumangan	Gustu mu nang pumangan? /gustu mu naŋ pumaŋan/ 'Do you want to eat now?'
punnangan	Anang udas kamu punnangan kanayna? /anaŋ udas kamu punnaŋan kanajna/ 'What time did you eat earlier?'

### Appendix C. Interlinearized Remontado narrative

The second author, Orlando Surbano, also translated the text ‘The Wind and the Sun’ (‘I ru-gus at aydaw’ in Hatang-Kayi), which has been included in this journal in sketches of Ponosakan (Lobel 2016) and Maranao (Lobel and Riwarung 2011), as well as in numerous similar sketches in the Journal of the International Phonetic Association. In spite of not being a native Remontado text, it allows for the comparison of Hatang-Kayi with the other languages for which translations of this text are available. The text is presented in the general Philippine orthography, interlinearized with phonemic transcription and morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, and translated into English. (Note that words marked by ‡ in the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses are Tagalog forms which are not part of the Hatang-Kayi language.)

- (1) *I ru-gús at aydáu*  
 ʔi ruʔ'gus ʔat ʔaj'daw  
 NOM wind and sun  
 The wind and the sun
- (2) *Isáng aydáu, minagtálu i aydáu at ru-gús.*  
 ʔi'sa=ŋ ʔaj'daw | minag'talu ʔi ʔaj'daw ʔat ruʔ'gus  
 one.LNK day AF.PRS.RCP.argue NOM sun and wind  
 One day, the sun and the wind were arguing.
- (3) *Kinayí id aydáu, “Sáku i matíkas kadsí-táng*  
 kina'ji ʔid ʔaj'daw | 'saku ʔi ma'tikas kadsíʔ'ta=ŋ  
 OF.PST.say GEN sun 1SG.NOM NOM ADJ.strong 1INCL.DU.OBL.LNK  
*dar-á.”*  
 dar' ʔa  
 two  
 The sun said, “I am the stronger of us two.”
- (4) *Kayí id ru-gús, “Walâ! Sáku i matíkas*  
 ka'ji ʔid ruʔ'gus | wa'laʔ || 'saku ʔi ma'tikas  
 said GEN wind no 1SG.NOM NOM ADJ.strong  
*kadsí-táng dar-á.”*  
 kadsíʔ'ta=ŋ dar'ʔa  
 1INCL.DU.OBL.LNK two  
 The wind said, “No! I am the stronger of us two.”

- (5) *Hábang minagtálu pu dar-á,*  
 'habaŋ minag'talu pu dar'ʔa |  
 while AF.PRS.RCP.argue NOM two  
 While the two of them were arguing,
- (6) *kay unnáytan na láki kay suklút id makapál na bádù.*  
 kaj ʔun'najtan na 'laki kaj suk'lut ʔid maka'pal na 'baduʔ||  
 EXIST AF.PST.pass-by LNK man EXIST wear GEN ADJ.thick LNK shirt  
 there was a man who passed by wearing a thick shirt.
- (7) *Pagkinít ra i láki, migkaisá pu dar-á na*  
 pagki'nit ra ʔi 'laki | migkaʔi'sa pu dar'ʔa na  
 when.see 3PL.GEN NOM man AF.PST.RCP.agree NOM two that  
 When they saw the man, the two agreed that
- (8) *in sí-na kadsíra i makapagpahubád kad láki ídpu*  
 ʔin 'siʔna kad'sira ʔi makapagpahu'bad kad 'laki 'ʔidpu  
 if who 3PL.OBL NOM AF.CAUS.ABIL.INF.remove OBL man GEN  
*wáding bádù,*  
 'wadi(n)=ŋ 'baduʔ |  
 3SG.POSS.LNK shirt  
 whoever could make him take his shirt off
- (9) *si-yá i pinakamatíkas.*  
 siʔja ʔi pinakama'tikas ||  
 3SG.NOM NOM SUP strongest  
 was the stronger.
- (10) *I ú-nang sunnúbuk ta ru-gús. Migparu-gús nang*  
 ʔi 'ʔuʔna=ŋ sun'nubuk ta ru'gus || migparuʔ'gus naŋ  
 NOM first.LNK AF.PST.tried NOM wind AF.PST.CAUS.wind LNK‡  
*migparu-gús.*  
 migparuʔ'gus ||  
 AF.PST.CAUS.wind  
 The first to try was the wind. He blew and blew.

- (11) *Pídu hábang lallakás i ru-gús,*  
 'pidu 'habaŋ lalla'kas ʔi ruʔ'gus |  
 but while AF.PRES.strong NOM wind  
 But as the wind got stronger,
- (12) *daddákpang atúu id láki idpu wáding bádù.*  
 dad'dakpa(n)=ŋ ʔa'tuʔu ʔid 'laki 'ʔidpu 'wadi=ŋ 'baduʔ ||  
 LF.PRES.hold really GEN man NOM 3SG.POSS.LNK shirt  
 the man really held onto his shirt.
- (13) *Kad wakás sunnúkù i ru-gús.*  
 kad wa'kas sun'nukuʔ ʔi ruʔ'gus ||  
 OBL end AF.PST.give-up NOM wind  
 Finally, the wind gave up.
- (14) *Sunnunúd ta aydáu. Migpaínit nang migpaínit.*  
 sunnu'nud ta ʔaj'daw || migpa'ʔinit naŋ migpa'ʔinit ||  
 AF.PST.follow NOM sun AF.CAUS.PST.heat LNK AF.CAUS.PST.heat  
 Next was the sun. He shone and shone
- (15) *Kad subráng ínit, binanás nang atúu i láki.*  
 kad sub'ra=ŋ 'ʔinit | bina'nas naŋ ʔa'tuʔu ʔi 'laki ||  
 OBL too.LNK heat OF.PST.sweat LNK true NOM man  
 In the overwhelming heat, the man sweated a lot.
- (16) *Kayâ lâ tunnagál at hinubád i wáding*  
 ka'jaʔ laʔ tunna'gal ʔat hinu'bad ʔi 'wadi(n)=ŋ  
 therefore not AF.PST.long-time and OF.PST.remove NOM 3SG.POSS.LNK  
*bádù.*  
 'baduʔ |  
 shirt  
 So it was not long before he removed his shirt.
- (17) *Ídpu masulí i mingyádi, kinayí id ru-gús*  
 'ʔidpu masu'liʔ ʔi miŋ'jadi | kina'ji ʔid ruʔ'gus  
 when OF.ACCD.INF.see NOM AF.PST.happen OF.PST.say GEN wind  
*kad aydáu,*  
 kad ʔaj'daw ||  
 OBL sun  
 When he saw what had happened, the wind said to the sun.

- (18) “*Sí-ka na ngá i atúung matíkas kadsí-táng*  
 ‘siʔka na ŋa i ʔa'tuʔu=ŋ ma'tikas kadsíʔ'ta=ŋ  
 2SG.NOM now EMPH‡ NOM true ADJ.strong 1INCL.DU.OBL.LNK  
*dar-á!*”  
 dar'ʔa |  
 two  
 “You truly are the stronger of us two!”

## Appendix D. Executive Order 122, December 21, 1915, pertaining to the Remontados

